

/116 cont./

- 343 In addition to these dwellings only a few houses have
 [574] separate buildings, such as, for example, one or, if need be,
 [513] two storehouses or a small house (yatléckwe) in which friends
 and neighbors sleep when they help the owner for days for the
 251 joint work of expressing sugar cane or for the harvest. In the
 343 storehouse (kotyāvyat: literally "maize storehouse") only maize
 [262] and beans are stored, not wheat or garden produce. Fruit, yuca,
 potatoes, and arracacha are not kept on hand or stored at all,
 but always merely fetched as needed and eaten immediately.
 Wheat is tied in bundles below the ears on stalks about 20 centi-
 meters long and hung up under the roof above the fire. Maize
 and beans may be kept up to two years in the storehouse. For
 this purpose horizontal cross-sticks are fastened in it, over
 which the ears are hung, and racks consisting of maize stalks
 • [25] laid close together are constructed for the beans. These racks,
 too, are hung up, if possible, or at least are fastened quite
 high above the floor so that the mice (únsa) cannot get to them.
 [231] In addition, a cat (mīš) is shut up in the storehouse, if one is
 available. Stalls for the livestock are unknown.

34 In the middle of the village of Calderas, on community
 land, stand the church (iglésia), the community house (kabñdeyát),
 and the six festival houses of the six largest families (Ill. 147
 /see p. 264 /). In their construction, they are likewise hip-
 roofed houses, but their walls are built in the manner of the
 colonists' houses, /117/ out of vertical posts, on the inside and
 outside of which bamboo poles or straight branches are tied
 horizontally. To strengthen the posts the interstices are filled
 with earth, clay, and, in the lower part, also with stones. The
 filling is spread smoothly and the wall whitewashed inside and
 [373] out. Whereas light enters the other houses through the door and
 the not very tightly sealed walls made of maize stalks placed side
 by side, light can enter the above-mentioned houses consisting of
 solid walls only through the relatively small door and the opening
 of the roof ridge, which makes the interior rather dark.

The house

/122 cont. /

356 is swept by the women every day with a broom (*ctábando*) consisting of shrubs of the *psánha* plant. This plant at the same
824 time drives away fleas. The rubbish is swept out of the house
• [25] in such a way that even the entrance is clean.

351 All around the house and surrounding it at some distance
417 either a fence is erected or a ditch dug about one meter deep,
[231] within which the poultry and usually the pigs and sheep are kept.
In Calderas, where, because of the low temperature, bamboo
[137] no longer grows, the fence is made of wood obtained from the
[313] natural growth when a piece of land is burned off. Stakes are
driven vertically into the ground at intervals of about two meters
and the interspaces filled with small tree trunks, branches, and
twigs up to a good meter in length, lying horizontally. Climbing
over this fence is done with notched tree trunks or bamboo stalks
placed obliquely against the fence as a ladder. Similar notched
tree trunks also serve as ladders in the houses (Ills. 168 and 154
/see pp. 274 and 268 /).

514 There are no privies. On account of the isolation of the
houses, however, it is never difficult for the Paez to find a
place off in the brush or in the forest. We never found the paths
264 and the vicinity of the houses soiled with filth. The Paez showed
[42] the same tact in eating and at other gatherings. We never experienced
smacking of lips or belching, even though their eating habits are somewhat crude, for, lacking spoons, they are in the habit of simply shoving their food from the plate into the mouth with the fingers.

/123/

2. Clothing and Ornaments

291 The Paez today wear clothing covering their upper and lower bodies. In ancient times, according to the reports of chroniclers, some of them were said to have worn small cotton cloaks, although the majority of them "went about naked, even in the cold mountains" (cited by Hernandez, 1944, p. 191,
[302] from P. M. Rodriguez, 1684). They were also said to have painted their bodies with color and to have made imprints on them with
stamps.

/143 cont./

- 224 mountain spirit. We met only a single young man of about 18 who goes hunting alone in the mountains once a week. He told us that, in order to become a good hunter, one must first try to [789] kill a bear (éswiy). One must then rub its fat into the right [237] lower-arm, which would give him the same powers as the bear. [262] One is not permitted to eat this fat, however, because it would [122] make him insane. After rubbing in the fat, the young hunter [263] continued, one may not eat salt at any meal for a week. There are no further rules and ceremonies of any kind to be observed. [237] We learned, however, that one can also use bear fat as a healing remedy, and, to be sure, for bone fractures or sprains one [752] must rub the affected part with bear fat, whereupon the injured [757] limb will heal immediately and will become considerably 224 stronger than ever before. For stalking he wears on his head a 292 cap made of the skin of a reddish-blond hairy monkey (móno), • [825] which in the first place protects him from the thorns of the bushes, but which is also supposed to facilitate creeping up on [439] game. He sold it to us for two pesos without hesitation, since, [126] as he said, he was perfectly capable of shooting another monkey 224 for himself. He was not afraid of the gělyómp spirit, but the 776 other men were, for gělyómp screams and makes a noise when human beings enter his area in the mountains, so that they become quite confused and go astray. The mountain spirit cannot do anything to several men together, however, since he could make as much noise as he pleased, but they would not let themselves be diverted. Of course, the men, even if there are ever so 224 many of them, must not offend the mountain spirit or provoke 776 him unnecessarily, but rather must avoid everything that gělyómp 515 does not like. /144/ For instance, he hates everything impure 783 and filthy. Hence the men always only go hunting well washed; [296] they even wash the entire body, and the ruana, too. In addition, [824] they rub themselves with the cleansing herbs śu and śyuts, which they obtain from the shaman, in order to be really altogether [761] clean in a physical and ritual sense. But if someone has taken part in a burial or has merely seen a funeral procession close by, he has picked up a good deal of "pest" from the dead and must have himself specially purified by the shaman before hunting.

/168 cont./

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Special orientation devices for traveling are unknown and are unnecessary, since no one leaves the wider area of his home district. Anyone taking a route for the first time joins someone who knows the way. One does not travel by night, and for this

[482]

reason the stars do not serve for orientation. The average load to be sold on market days is about 20 to 25 pounds for men; if a married couple goes together, the man usually carries the load, and the woman, the provisions. The daily distances covered are considerable. From Calderas by way of San /169/ Andrés to the market at Inzá is almost 20 kilometers. It takes about

[492]

six hours on foot. On horseback it is not much less, since one cannot ride fast on the steep paths of the countryside. Many Paez manage this route back and forth in one day, albeit only "without becoming intoxicated on the way," which is not altogether simple.

487

The traffic routes consist of narrow footpaths which can be traveled by walking or riding only in single file. As for roads

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for wagons or autos, there is only one at present: the gravel auto road from La Plata to Belalcázar, traveling up the Rio Paez. Since the end of 1952, however, a connecting road to Inzá is being built with modern American road-building equipment, which will then open up to traffic the southern, less mountainous area of Tierradentro, settled exclusively by colonists, and its products, coffee and panela /see the glossary, p.249 /. These roads are cut directly out of the sometimes very steep slopes and cross rivers and brooks with modern iron bridges.

491

The Paez, too, are accustomed to crossing the waterways

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on bridges. It is not customary to wade across, unless it is a matter of very shallow brooks. Even then large stones are usually set in them, by means of which one can reach the opposite shore with dry feet. The bridges of Paez may be divided into

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three groups, according to their construction. The simplest type is that of two thick poles or tree trunks placed side by side, without a railing, which span the ditches around the farmyards and gardens that substitute for fences. Such ditches are supposed to prevent horses, cattle, and pigs from entering. Over the

[825]

/183 cont. /

60/ Forms of address:

father and mother together
(whether by their own children or other persons)

ovényi or pětām

father and son together (by other persons)

pědyĭk

father and daughter together
(by other persons)

pědyĭs

mother and son together (by other persons)

pědyĭk

mother and daughter together
(by other persons)

pědyĭs

3. Customs during the Course of Life and of a Day

182

The Paez generally give the impression of being contented human beings, and it seems that marriage and family life are better than average. Of course, the observations on this are very scanty, for, on account of the remote location of the individual dwellings, the research worker always has only a brief glimpse of family conditions at any one time. This very solitude, however, and the consciousness of greater dependence on one another within the family favors its cohesion, even as it reduces the conflict and irritation which arise through women's gossip when people live too closely on top of one another.

842

[123]

Basically every family wants a great many children -- at any rate so said all the men questioned. Two Calderun women, however, /184/ confided to my wife that there was a remedy -- which they and other women, too, naturally did not use! -- that would with certainty prevent conception: One must eat some of

[825]

[237]

the spittle of a mula (the female, infertile cross between horse and donkey), and then one would no longer have children. They said that a woman does this only when she has already given birth to a great many children. In general every girl desires a great cu

/262 cont. /

754 most opportunities to meet evil spirits. Generally they do not need a teacher, but may look for their herbs by themselves. There are also many people, however, who would like to learn sorcery from other nyic, just as there are also supposed to nyic who instruct others in their art.

756 Avoidance prescriptions and taboos for the shaman include
784 some sexual and dietary abstinence, without, however, being
[834] very extensive or strict. Intercourse with his wife is forbidden
[263] for him when he feels his "signs." Moreover, he may not eat any
[263] ají if possible, in order not to make Thunder too angry. Also, he
[717] may eat only very little salt, since Thunder likewise /263/ eats
no salt. For the séances, which always take place at night, he fasts
the whole day, since a full stomach makes it difficult to feel the
756 "signs." The other avoidance rules for the shaman are the same
784 as for all other human beings. For example, one may not kill a
● 825 snail, for if he should touch it, he would become lazy. In like
manner, the black woodpecker (ánza) may not be killed, since
otherwise, while working, one would split the machete in the
same way as the tail of the woodpecker is shaped. Young men
are forbidden to take a stolen hen away from a fox, for then
another man would take his bride or wife away from him. Only
[262] old men may confidently eat such a hen, if they have first run
around the house with a firebrand.

c) Shamanistic Aids

756 Among the shamanistic aids, the "signs" are the most im-
784 portant symptoms experienced, while the outward ceremonial
gear is as meager as the whole Paez culture. The only ceremonial
implement is the unadorned shaman's staff, the functional mean-
ing of which, however, is far less important than the shamanistic
"signs" (stok). "They are like the pecking of a bird," the shaman
Cerbeleón Niunda said of them, and Francisco Cuskue describes
them as the irregular beating of his pulse. To be able to receive
[278] and to interpret them is the basis of being a shaman. Knowledge
of the medicinal herbs, the handling of the shaman's staff, in

/273 cont. /

776 If it rains when the sun is shining, they may not leave the house,
753 for otherwise they become afflicted with head maladies. These
121 are not headaches, but wounds such as would be inflicted by a
[758] machete. The teyu, however, have remedies to make the rain-
[789] bow disappear, so that children may go outside again.

Eĉ, the third of the aforementioned causes of sickness and
776 death, is the most unpleasant and the most dangerous, since eĉ
[753] kills the most people. Eĉ lives in the earth; no man has seen
[761] him, apart from a few shamans. They need not enter into the
[787] earth, however, to see him; rather, eĉ himself comes if a teyu
• [825] calls him. He looks like a human being. Eĉ is also the name
for fireflies, which are regarded as the messengers that he sends
out to bring "pest" to human beings. People therefore kill fire-
776 flies if they are able to catch them. Eĉ is not angry, however,
782 if the people kill his messengers, if only he always gets enough
offerings. For this reason people give eĉ a dram-glass full of
brandy from every bottle, that is, they pour this amount on the
ground; likewise eĉ gets his share of every animal killed (chicken,
756 pig, cow, etc.). People ask their teyu which parts of the animal
776 eĉ demands and which ones they should offer him. If people
782 killed and ate an animal without offering eĉ any of it, he would
[761] in return kill a child of this family. If the father then comes to
the teyu and asks why his child died, he -- who, of course, knows
that the man slaughtered a pig without giving eĉ anything -- tells
him that this is the punishment of eĉ. That very rarely happens,
however; rather, the man gives the shaman the parts of the ani-
mal desired by eĉ, for instance, the liver, entrails, or meat, and
he gives them to eĉ, bringing them at night to the place desired
[787] by him. Moreover, as a precaution people give eĉ herbs and
brandy as the shaman advises, in accordance with the signs which
he has received from eĉ.

774 If the penetration of pest into the body of a person is the
776 cause of an illness that may result in death, this unfortunate out-
753 come is all the more probable if one of the three spirits or a nyic
has stolen a human soul. I was given differing /274/ statements
about such a case: First of all, there are two words for soul, ũns

/275 cont./

775 Old Celia Uriaga of Calderas, who told us two stories, but is
 [828] not a shaman herself, reported the following: When a person sleeps
 774 and dreams, his taff leaves the body, goes everywhere, and ex-
 periences what the person is experiencing in his dream. When the
 person dies, üns then leaves the person by way of the veins of the
 upper and lower arm, where one can feel the pulse, and finally by
 way of the finger tips. Taff also leaves the person, but in the form
 of a human being with white clothing. Whereas üns goes to heaven,
taff either stays near the body in the grave or goes about on earth,
 although not as taff, but as áhimos (ghost). It can be seen by the
 shamans at night, but also by human beings at midnight or around
 two o'clock at night, in the form of a human figure sitting by the
 wayside. It is not a real human being, however, but more like a
 wind. /276/ Ahimos is generally at the burial place, there where
 the corpse is buried and where the bones are.

According to the account of the old téoi Felisa, the üns leaves
 the body upon the death of a human being and goes to heaven. It
 leaves the body by way of the lower arms, hands, and finger tips.

755 Felisa herself tries to hold back the üns of a dying person by blow-
 775 ing hard on his finger tips after she has previously taken a mouthful
 763 of the herbs čáyuts and šuwéz as well as brandy. At the same time,
 [824] with the same herbs in her hands, she strokes the patient's arms
 from the finger tips upward, in order to hold back üns. Taff leaves
 the human body before death. In doing so, it whistles. Felisa can
 see it. It wanders along a path, well dressed, and the shaman is
 able to bring it back by tearing its clothes with a very sharp-edged
 reed (nyfka), and then it is obliged to return to the body (cf. Ill.
 199 /see p. 288/).

775 Apart from the shamans, she is convinced that no one is able to
 • [825] see taff, except for dogs, when they sometimes howl for no apparent
 reason. Whereas üns goes to heaven, taff remains on earth and goes
 769 on living in its house as áhimos in the form of a breath of air. (No
 accessories are put in the grave with the dead, but on the following
 December 8, the Feast of the Immaculada, and recurrently each
 year, the relatives offer to the áhimos of their dead their favorite

* /305 cont. /

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The Paez youth could now go to the house of his master, and he showed him the pot of gold and reported his experience. He gave the gold to his master. The latter gave him a great deal of meat to eat and also gave him a fine bed to sleep in. When the youth lay down in it, he died.

Comment of the narrator: A Paez who has an encounter with a Pijao or a jaguar may report this to people after half a year at the earliest, or, still better, not until a year later. If he does so earlier, he must die, as the following story, too, shows.

A Pijao met two Paez men in the mountains, one of whom was very ugly and dirty and the other very clean and handsome. The Pijao killed the clean one and devoured him on the spot. He first wanted to wash the ugly and dirty one and therefore went to a brook with him. The dirty Paez man, however, could swim, /306/ dived into the water, and swam away. The Pijao man, like all Pijao, was unable to swim and threw stones and earth into the water, but nothing helped. The Paez man was able to escape. Then the Pijao, very sad, remained behind on the shore. The dirty Paez went to his house and told his family about his experience, and then he, too, had to die.

16. The Paez with the Ax

A Pijao went into the mountains to catch birds. For this he used a stick smeared with a substance similar to glue, with which he touched the birds so that they remained stuck to it. He did this for many years. One day he came to the house of a Paez, whose owner, however, was not there. In the house lay only an ax (as the narrator added: made of iron, for the Pijao are not familiar with any kind of tools, neither knife nor axes. To prepare their fields for planting, they can only split the bark of trees with stones, whereupon they dry in the course of a year. After this time the Pijao plant their maize on the field with dead trees standing on it. Thus, since they have no machetes to fell trees, they cannot lay out proper burned-off fields, like the Paez, although they are acquainted with fire.)

147 the odor peculiar to the Indians, which becomes quite noticeable when they are sweating and which so closely resembles that of the secretion of the so-called *sahino*, or wild hog (*Dicotyles tajacu* L.), that I have more than once been deceived into believing that our trail crossed the path of a drove of these animals.

516 When at rest the Paéz men almost invariably sit on their heels, the toes sustaining the whole weight of the body, while the women sit with their legs stretched together on the ground, even when near the fire in their houses. In micturition young girls remain standing. The gait of both men and women is short-paced and easy, the body being always slightly inclined forward, probably on account of the habit of carrying heavy loads.

824 Like all children of Nature, the Paéz Indians are very keen observers of their surroundings, as is shown by the minuteness of their differentiation in plants and in certain groups of insects. Castillo, for instance, gives the names of no fewer than six different varieties of ants —

[552]

kan-kák
kák-futs

áí-kák-ne
gnuc-Bandi

éia-i
to-fiti

and I collected very few plants for which they did not have a ready name.

REPRODUCTION AND DEATH

881 When a girl reached puberty the event was celebrated among the old Paéz Indians by a special dance called *itsa-ko*, during which the young naked female was placed in a hole dug outside the ball-house and thoroughly washed with *chicha*. We have no notice of pre-marital liberty being conceded to women, nor of the relation of children to parents in the family organization. As tradition has it, the pre-conquest Paéz were polygamous, and notwithstanding the efforts of the missionaries, it is almost certain that this practice has not completely disappeared. We know nothing about the existence of marriage ceremonies before the introduction of the Catholic ritual. It is likely, however, [586] that marriages were endogamous and free, and, as such, a very frail institution, as Castillo informs us that even in his time

the drum-dance, in which the women sang to the accompani- 535
ment of a drum; *vito-ko*, or *fit-ko*, the stick-dance, etc.

In addition to the shells and reeds, the Indians also accom- 535
panied their dances with a kind of drum (*kimb*), consisting of a 534
long wooden trough hung by its extremities; and the *tsots*, or
rattle, a calabash containing small stones or hard canna seeds
and provided with a handle.

According to Castillo the Paez had also other deities, corre- 776
sponding somewhat to the lares of the ancient Latins, 778
carved images of which were often found in the houses. The
dixi, who were at one time priests, sorcerers, and medicine-men, [79]
lived in retirement and were considered as the keepers of the
doctrines of a traditional civilizer of the nation, called *Guckian*.
So strong was their influence in Castillo's time that he com-
plains rather bitterly about it, and proceeds to explain how the
true God, wishing to free the Paez from such a devilish guide,
simply employed a subterfuge to drown him in the Paez river,
together with two of his apostles!

The belief in a future existence is indicated, as Uricoechea 825
relates, by the fact that the Indians never molested white dogs, 775
in order that they might not be bitten by them at the doors of
the house beyond the grave.

There were birds and other signs of good or of evil omen. 787
A woman would never step over a leather rope stretched on the
ground, but would lift it up and pass beneath. During the
construction of bridges, two men constantly beat the waters to
frighten away evil spirits. The death of a person was often 761
attributed to witchcraft, and he whose face bore some likeness 754
to that of the dead person was often regarded as the culprit,
provided the patient in his ravings had not given the name of
the supposed sorcerer. The soul of a cow whose fat had been 825
used for illumination during religious ceremonies was believed 774
to go directly to heaven: this last belief, however, must be of
post-conquest origin.

Among themselves the Indians are jovial and contented. 137
The approach of the men whom we often met on the trails 533
around Huila was usually first detected by the sound of the 283

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

* /304 cont. /

539 name of Calderas. María Santísima gave the fire and disappeared.

Informant: Agustín Muse.

Interpreter: Marco Antonio Penkue.

18. The Mine-armadillo

* 539

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• 825

My father was inside a house. Suddenly he saw an animal that shone like a lamp; the light went up to the sky. The animal was a mine-armadillo which was climbing up the hill. If one succeeds in catching him, one puts him in a large box and gives him maize to eat. He turns into a mine, pure gold. Before catching him, one must have the silver ready, 50 or 100 pesos; one wraps him in a new kerchief and lifts him; he is very light. Without the silver, he is seen in the stream or on the path, but one cannot catch him; one puts his hand there where the armadillo is, withdraws it, and he does not move.

Informant: Victoriano Piñakué.

19. The Thin Man

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My father bought a jar and carried it on his back. At night, drunk, he met the thin man sitting by the path; it was a soul. He was about to fall into the ditch, but the soul did not let him fall and accompanied him home as if he were his brother. Father, frightened, started falling, but the soul held him up; he carried a light, making the night very clear. Nevertheless he did not speak. The man looked like the Sisters; he was quite white.

* 539

20. The Devil

My father, with a friend, was coming from Belalcázar on horseback; I was behind my father. The friend came last; he

* [Parcialidad of Calderas]

/306 cont./

539

If dawn comes and it has not reached home, it asks for shelter from its relatives. On the following night it reaches its own home. The man climbed down the tree in fear and went home, telling everyone (wives, sisters, children, parents, and relatives) that he had seen this head.

The head may appear to any man, whether he is drunk or not. The animal goes downhill easily, but has a hard time going uphill.

It travels underground and comes out in the field.

24. The Animals

A man went to see a relative who lived far away. He drank chicha with a cousin. He got drunk and walked through the night. /307/ He carried a machete /peinilla/ and also a shotgun to kill chachalaca. He made a shot. Something came out that looked like a pig. He could not see anything, although he looked all around him. He took out his machete to defend himself, but he could not see anything. He shot his gun once more into the air, and then many animals came out, to judge by the noise that they made in the leaves of the trees, but nothing was to be seen; only the noise was heard and nothing more. The night was very dark; he struck matches, but they immediately went out. Then he shouted. A female relative heard him and went looking for him, accompanied by her little daughter. She carried a burning twig with which she frightened away the animals. They found the man in a ditch, took him out, and went off in fear. The women ahead and the man behind. Along the way there was a small stream, and an animal seemed to move in the water. The man looked behind and saw only two eyes shining and shouted, "look, here comes an animal," and passed the women. They did not see anything. They held up the light, and the animals remained quiet.

• [825] At nine o'clock the animals are already walking about. During Holy Week they walk about a great deal. People cannot go out.

/307 cont./

*539
772
781

25. The Sky

Informant: Agustín Muse.

Interpreter: Marco Antonio Penkue.

Once when I was near death my soul climbed to the sky, which is a flat plain where the view extends to the horizon. The entrance is wooded. The Virgin told me that this land was for her sons and that I would have a piece. To reach the sky, one first goes along a good path and soon becomes lost; the most hidden one leads to the Virgin's palace. It is said that it is bad for one to eat the porcupine, because he will come before María Santísima dressed in its skin. He will go to the devil, and although the latter cannot pick him up, he has hooks with which to grab him. This is why, at the hour of retiring or rising, I pray to my God and to María.

The palace of María is of blinding splendor. It is very beautiful. The Virgin always holds the Child; only rarely does she put him down somewhere.

I tell my fellow men what I saw but they make fun of my account.

/308/ It is holy, they should respect it.

Good people go to heaven, that is to say, those who do not abuse other persons, say evil things, or are loutish.

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26. Origin of the Plants

The old people said that every kind of seed had been given by María Santísima, who drew them from her womb and gave them to the Christians in order for them to maintain themselves. Plants are thus inherited from María Santísima. She gave away every kind of seed when her brother was around. Hence his rage, since he wanted to give seeds and animals and could not. Perhaps the snakes were made by Santo Tomás. /The bibliography on p. 309 is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

[825]
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/208/

231
796 At about ten o'clock in the morning the special guests of
the fiestero get ready to kill the beef. They are four. The

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[533] musicians intone the kula kui while other men begin to cut the long,
dry pieces of wood into small fragments. Woodcutters, slaughterers,
and musicians all begin their activities at once. The wood will
serve to roast the maize griddlecakes?

[125] One of the slaughterers gathers the blood in a pan, while
another one holds the head and tries to cover the eyes; he believes
that if he does not do so, some other cow will attack him when he
goes to catch it.

/237 cont./

753 cramps in the body, and furthermore that sorcerers see it in the
776 form of a turkey impelled to peck people.
821

It seems obvious that what the Indians call Echimbe (red
753 Echi) or candelilla fina /thin glowworm/ is a firefly /luciérnaga /
825 somewhat difficult to capture and extremely fierce. They
differentiate it perfectly well from the fire beetle /cucuyos
(cucuyos)/. They say that it is an animal that God produced in
[755] order to harm the Christians. The curers call them and catch
them in their Kachí, while other Indians, chewing coca, catch
them anywhere and bring them to the curer to be buried.

[774] They believe that their fierceness is due to the fact that the
[829] souls of the Pijao are incarnated in them.

753 The symptoms of the sting of Echi are vague and im-
precise and refer solely to bodily pains.

The symptoms of Pijao "dirt" are recognized by respiratory
difficulties.

164 They differentiate perfectly well the venereal diseases,
757 which seem to be quite widespread in the acculturated
parcialidades. In Calderas they are said to have spread widely
among both sexes, without respect to age, and to have been
treated with copper sulphate, for the remedies of the Indians
were of no use. In Santa Rosa antibiotics are used. A curer
in that parcialidad maintains that those diseases were brought
from La Plata by wandering women and that it befell him to
treat two cases: one was serious and the patient died; the
second, not very advanced, he treated with yukchacha,
montaña barbasco, and fisa (bitopat or bodoquero). He ad-
ministered the juice for six days and subjected the patient to
a diet of chicken exclusively.

755 Remedies. The remedies used by the Paez curer are
757 vegetal. As a rule they are prescribed in combination. Thus:

/238/ To clean away the ptans:

[683] Yacuma blanca, ul ñiñ, ñundayuskei, shugues, chandur,
guepeyuskey, chayuts.

/256 cont./

754 Sorceresses are numerous, and it seems that they are the most feared.

[787] Sorcerers receive signs from the devil and the evil spirits who help them appear in the form of snakes, donkeys, or pigs.

• [225] They are different from the ghost and Rainbow. It is said that the pig teaches the person to be very fierce or inclined to drunkenness (drunks roll about on the floor like pigs in the mud); the donkey, to be a glutton.

In general it seems that every adult is a potential sorcerer, and all the more so those who deviate from the institutionalized norms of behavior.

754 Victims of sorcery. The victims of sorcery are found
554 everywhere among the people, without any distinction as to
598 sex or age, status or function. The sorcerer himself commonly takes the initiative, but he is also at the disposal of those who want to employ him.

The victims of sorcery frequently are those people who are efficient, hard-working, and frugal, virtues which in our society lead to the development of a capitalist economy.

754 In Santa Rosa they speak of the lamented death of one of
534 their ex-gobernadores. He was young -- they say -- intelligent, a good conversationalist, /257/ and very hard-working.
153 He owned much land and good fields of coffee, yuca, maize,
598 and sugar cane. Jealousy, the source of discord and injustice, motivated the sorcerers Lorenzo Io and Dolores Oinó, his wife, who joined forces at once with the greatest of the sorceresses, Felisa Ipia, in order to put an end to this man's life. This is the judgment of the curers and the opinion of the community. But the accusation was made by the victim himself, who, in the course of his death agony, which was prolonged, dreamed of the above-mentioned sorcerers. The dying man repeatedly requested that the sorcerers should be sent for, so that he might settle accounts with them. When they left his house to attend to the wish of the dying man, he expired. He died convinced that they had cast a spell upon him.

/308 cont. /

243 are also selected; the larger, round one is regarded as the
244 woman and the less vigorous one as the man. In the cold climates
476 they usually sow, in addition, broad beans and wheat, and in
the temperate ones arracacha, manioc, plantains, and other
species.

243 In three months, when the maize is man-high, weeding
476 is done. The underbrush is uprooted and left on the same
ground to dry out and rot. It serves as fertilizer for the plant-
ings. But the natives have no conception of fertilizers, and any
suggestion made in this connection is regarded by them /309/
as a waste of time. There are also mingas for weeding, and boys
and even women participate. In about six months the dry and
yellow leaves are stripped from the stalks, a task which they call
descalzar /to discalceate/; they believe that this makes the
tender leaves acquire a dark-green color and the ears grow
[244] strong. The stripped leaves are used to cover the roofs of the
ranchos which are built for watching over the plantings and to
house the family at harvest time.

243 The fields are attacked by flocks of parrots and chamones
● 825 /a kind of bird/; they are driven away with scarecrows (kanasá),
which are put in strategic places. Squirrels and dogs are also
enemies of maize, and to protect it they build traps or use their
shotguns. In addition, the women and children constantly go
around the fields. Next to the rancho a high platform is often built,
from which the integrity of the plantings can be guarded.

243 The natives know that droughts parch the sown ground and
789 an exaggerated winter injures them. When the leaves are scorched
754 and the plant does not make ears, they think then that envious
people (the sorcerers) have cast a spell on the maize. In such
cases, they call the good curer (té eu) to lift the spell. Protec-
tion thus has a magical character (13).

Chamones

/327 cont./

223 black birds, are not eaten because they are probably animals of
 ● 225 the devil. It is said that in times past the Calderas Indians ate
 262 beetles, the reason that they are nicknamed tandayaha (one who
 [578] eats beetles), an epithet which they regard as offensive and which
 nearly always irritates them. The Calderunos say that they do not
 [224] eat worms or the meat of rabbits and snakes. They regard as game
 [223] animals the guara, deer, coati, armadillo, bat, and various species
 of birds.

224 Concerning bear hunting, the people of Mosoco relate
 /328/ real feats performed by Indians in open fights with the ani-
 [237] mals. Bear fat is highly esteemed among the natives and "whites."

226. Fishing is less important than hunting. The rivers and
 streams contain sardines and coruntas /small river-fish/. During
 Holy Week and at Christmas they engage in fishing, when the
 [462] water is low, by means of barbasco, nets, and hooks. This is
 strictly a masculine activity. In the Paez River they fish during
 the months of January and February and generally in months of
 drought.

They also gather crabs.

Laurel wax industry

388 Laurel, introduced by a man from Popayan /el payanés/.
 824 Agustín Valencia, has played an important role in the economy
 of some parcialidades of Tierradentro. It grows wild in Calderas,
 Tumbichukue, Lame, San Andrés, Chinas, and Suin. The pro-
 duction of wax was the only industry in these parcialidades that
 permitted them to maintain regular trade with the "whites."

388 A mestizo trader from Mosoco says that he was a great ex-
 43 porter of laurel wax. "It was the native industry" -- he says --
 by means of which salt, trousers, shirts, hats, and centavos came in."
 In this business, he states, he made one arroba of profit per load.
 The pound was quoted at a peso in Silvia. The informant says
 that in the years 1946 and 1947 he took out from 800 to 1,000
 arrobas of wax. He almost had a monopoly on the business.
 What little wax escaped him was purchased by traders from
 Belalcázar, who in turn took it by way of Mosoco to Silvia. The
 chief consumers of this product were the soap factories of Cali.
 The laurel wax industry waned in 1950, when those factories

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of manioc, arracacha, potatoes, beans, sweet maize, and pieces of meat. Meat is sometimes roasted. Maize, the staple, is made into tortillas or soup, or is roasted on the ear. Coffee, much of which is consumed, is roasted in a pottery vessel, ground, and made into an infusion sweetened with coarse sugar. 252
(272)

Kitchen utensils include pottery ollas and vessels, and a footless elliptical stone metate with a central concavity, which lies directly on the floor or is supported on sticks driven in the soil. Meat is kept smoked over the fireplace, and other food is stored on shelves of cane woven into the roof sticks or in hanging hemp bags or gourds. Each gourd has a broad half-gourd suspended above it, open side down, so that a rat descending from above slides off the gourd onto the floor. 415
251
(353)
(825) ●

The first daily meal is taken at daybreak and consists of "mute." There is no noonday meal, but the evening repast resembles breakfast. Between meals, the Indians chew coca two or three times to sustain their strength and allay hunger. For refreshment and stimulation, they drink guarapo, carrying it to work in gourds. 264
(276)
(273)

They cultivate pepper (aji) for a condiment, but purchase salt in the weekly market. The latter is so scarce that instead of mixing it with food they pass a lump around, each person licking it. Before the Conquest, three salt deposits were exploited in this territory, the most important being that near the modern municipality of Belalcázar or Páez. Here the local chief had the salt water boiled down to obtain blocks of salt, which he traded with other tribes for diverse products, or with which he bought help in his wars against the neighboring Pijao. Sometimes he permitted other Páez to exploit the deposit. Near the present-day Indian center of Ricaurte on the Ullucos River is another salt works that was much used in ancient times, but today is abandoned. Another source of salt was at Huila, where, during the Conquest, the Indians ambushed the Spaniards who sought it, and killed their horses. 317
263
(244)
(439)
(648)

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Each Páez and Moguez family has its own house, located on a point or flat place in the mountains some distance from its neighbors. The aboriginal house seems to have been rectangular, which still is the only form. It was so lightly constructed of cane and sticks with thatched roof that the Spanish soldiers during the foundation of San Vicente de Páez "carried some Indian houses to their barracks because they were small and suited to it" (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 9). Some distance from the dwelling, they always built a small woman's house. Under Spanish influence, some houses were divided into rooms, and built more solidly of "bahareque" construction, i. e., walls consisting of two faces of sticks with mud and rocks between (pl. 185). 342
(361)
177
342

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obliquely across the rocks; (3) an arched bridge of bamboo floored with spaced sticks, equipped with a hand rail on each side, and supported with stones, bamboo braces, and vines (pl. 185, bottom, right); and (4) a covered bridge with thatched roof, built of heavy logs supported by sticks and stones and floored with boards—a marvel of calculated strength, which, like the third type, is made entirely of vegetable materials yet can support loaded animals. To build an arched bridge, two groups of Indians approach opposite sides of the river and each plants a long, strong pole sloping out over the stream. The chief of each group then climbs out his pole until his weight bends it down to meet that from the opposite side, whereupon, clinging with one hand, they lash the ends together with creepers. This constitutes the main element of the bridge which is then completed by the other Indians.

TRANSPORTATION

Some Indians now have horses and use them for traveling and for transporting large burdens, but, in general, transportation is by foot, objects being carried on the back or in netted sacks hung by a strap, especially when visiting markets. A woman carries not only a heavy load but her small child suspended on her back in a blue woolen blanket held with a broad woven band, or "chumbe." Peculiarly Andean is the custom that the man travels on horseback while the woman follows on foot with a large burden.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

The *Moguez* and *Páez* formerly wore only small cotton blankets (mantas), although most of them "went about naked even on the cold mountains" (Rodríguez, 1684, bk. 2, ch. 1). They painted their bodies with bixa, using, according to Del Castillo i Orozco, stamps to apply the color. The paint also protected them against the strong sunlight and insects. They went barefoot, as all the natives in Colombia. According to one chronicler, their hair was "shorn" (Robledo, in Jijón y Caamaño, 1936-38). They wore breast and nose ornaments of pure gold or a gold and copper alloy, and necklaces of small figures, beads, small stones, and snails.

Soon after the beginning of the Conquest, the Indians commenced to use wide, long shirts of a very crude weave and hats which were so closely woven that they would hold water. The latter, which the Spaniards called "tacillas de Páez" (Páez bowls), are still in use. The Spanish encomenderos required that the Indians working on their haciendas near Popayán be dressed. This was the origin of the characteristic garment worn today, which combines the old small blanket (manta) with European dress. *Moguez* men wear short linen pants, and a blue flannel sash which covers them to their knees.

954

SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS

[B. A. B. BULL. 148]

754 upon them by the missionaries. The power to do evil is not limited to the witches, but is possessed by anyone who entertains a momentary feeling of envy, and to women, who may not walk over a stick or a cord stretched on the ground. Contact with women during their menstruation or during the days following childbirth causes the "mokokoy" to persecute the men and make them ill.

825 Animals possess the power to prognosticate evil. A document written in 1730 "tells that an Indian killed a rooster because he had crowed before daybreak, and said, "Rooster, you are forecasting my death, but I shall kill you first." They believe the same thing when certain birds sing. For example, the call of an owl at midnight brings death to someone. And certain small birds called "ulchik" and others called "bich" warn whomever hears their singing that he will meet with disaster. The box turtle follows people warning them that they are going to die.

825 Del Castillo says that the Indians will not strike white dogs, so that they will not be bitten by them when they enter the future life.

775 The belief in spirits (kl'iumb) is quite general. Among these spirits is the "pitsuala" which persecutes people, makes them ill, and even kills them. The rainbow, or "Etskituna," causes a rash to break out all over the body of anyone who ventures out while the rainbow shines, and the drizzle that generally accompanies the rainbow will harm a person who gets wet in it if he does not bathe immediately. When the rainbow appears, they stay indoors, and blow or spit tobacco in its direction.

776 They believe that the lagoon on the snowcapped peak, Huila, is harmed, and that if they try to go near it wind and hail storms rise. 823 Supernatural evil forces are supposed to be present during many social activities, such as dancing, meetings, funerals, house building, and bridge construction. When a bridge is built, two Indians beat the water constantly to drive away evil spirits. When traveling on the mountains they place small stones or coins on top of some large natural rock to assure a successful trip and to avoid angering the spirit of the mountain.

825 Sometimes these spiritual forces assume a bodily form, as in the case of the fireflies, which bring diseases or which may be wrapped in 753 Santa María leaves and placed in the path of an intended victim. 754 Most feared are the ghosts of the dead, which consequently are the 782 most propitiated. The Moguez and the Paéz ask their permission to dance, and honor them in a special rite, which blends old beliefs with 769 new religious concepts. Thus, offerings are made to the souls during the first days of November, or whenever the curate is able to visit the Indian village. Each person offers some products from his farm, in-

"Statement made by Javier de Orozco y Cuellar in a lawsuit by the Indians of Toboima for the possession of land. From the ecclesiastical files of Belalcázar, or Páez.

956

SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS

(B. A. B. Bull. 148)

755 requires that only the patient fast. He spits coca juice on various parts of the sick man's body, and at night performs a ritual to "take out the dirt," i. e., the cause of the disease. In the course of his treatment, the shaman goes out to a hill to gather fireflies. He places them in a vessel and buries them, as they are supposed to be the harmful evil spirits sent by the person who caused the sickness. They are thought to turn against the person who sent them, whom the shaman identifies by his shadow, which he detects in the darkness of the night.

[825]

THE CULTURE OF THE PIJAO

000 Despite 48 expeditions prior to 1611 against the *Pijao*, one of the most fearsome and savage people in Colombia, the Spaniards learned little about their culture. Friar Pedro Simón collected the most details regarding their usages and customs.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Pijao food was very similar to that of the peoples previously described. The most common cultivated plants were maize, yuca, arracacha, beans, potatoes, and other roots and tubers; and many fruits, such as avocados (cusa), papayas, plums, pineapples, and uchuya (a kind of cherry). The Indians got many fish from the rivers, especially the Magdalena River, and on the mountains they hunted pumas and "ocumaras," a sort of anteater. They cultivated vegetables, but not fruit trees, in fields which the Spaniards always sought to destroy and burn.

HABITATIONS

Dwellings were spacious and high. They had walls of wood and mud (bahar-poor) whitewashed with clay or white earth, and were provided with furnishings, such as wooden chairs. The conquerors found the chief, Carlacá or Calarcá, sitting in state in one of those chairs in his house. Some people lived temporarily under the shelter of trees and palms, perhaps only while farming.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

The *Pijao* generally went entirely naked, hence the name "Pinao" (men of large sex) given by the Spaniards, a word which soon became "Pijao." They painted their bodies with the substance obtained from the seeds of the arrietto tree, and some groups wore small cotton blankets (mantas). Men and women protected their heads and long hair with hats, not unlike bonnets, woven of palm leaves. They adorned their bodies with many feathers in a manner which the Spaniards described as "quaint and odd liveries made of feathers in various and pleasant colors," and wore some gold ornaments. They

[pp. 957 ff Not processed]

/179 cont. /

594 Associated with the nuclear family primordially are the functions of reproduction, the rearing of children, and the education of the latter. On procreation depends also the importance of economic functions.

581 The orientation of the sexual instinct is a secondary end.

589 Indeed, Páez culture demands that every individual form a family, once he has acquired the capacity for procreation. In [183] the parcialidad of Calderas they look upon children as a blessing [842] from God, regarding celibates "como violadores de la cruz" [775] /as violators of the cross/(marriage); celibacy is condemned, in

[754] the rationalization that the person who dies celibate goes to the Nevado del Huila, considered by them as hell. The celibacy of a woman is exceptional, and when it occurs they believe that she becomes a witch. They think something similar about some

581 widows. One woman of some fifty years of age says that

589 "marriage is fundamental and obligatory, for the grandfathers

775 used to say that to a woman who is not married the devil gives a black dog for a husband in hell" (7). Another woman declared

- [825] 7. They regarded white dogs as companions and guides in the future life and fear that "if molested they will come out and bite them at the entrance to the future abode."

that at times she feels sorrow for the death of an unmarried daughter, "because the devil would give her a husband."

581 The culture considers it an obligation of parents to marry [183] off their daughters even if they are very young. Furthermore [582] the young men aspire to "build their house, marry, produce children, have animals, coca in abundance, and sugar cane [842] for their chicha" (8). The incentive to marry is to have children,

8. Bernal Villa, S. 1953, op. cit., p. 183.

for which purpose it is necessary to have assurance /180/ that the woman is fecund.